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501 Canoes built on old style models are the small plank canoe (*tatai*) with washstrakes, bow and stern covers; the large plank canoe (*vaka tui tuta*; pl. 5,*A*) with through and through lashing of the hull and washstrake sections; another large plank canoe (*vaka tui autali*; pl. 5,*B*) with inside flange lashing of the hull sections; the large double canoe (*taulua*) in which two canoe hulls are lashed together by cross booms. The number of outrigger booms in all types of canoes ranges from two to six, two being common. Multiple booms are used for some large canoes.

[925] There is no origin legend for any of these types of canoe save the bare statement that the first canoes were modeled on the shapes of the whale and a species of shark. A fragment is told, however, which indicates an early consciousness in Pukapuka of the superior workmanship of Samoan canoe builders. Two Samoan craftsmen, Kaviki and Vailaki, came to Pukapuka during a voyage of exploration. During their stay in Pukapuka, they engaged in a competition to see who could build the better canoe after the Pukapukan models. Kaviki made a *tui tuta* canoe, Vailaki a *tui autali* canoe. In both, the hull sections were so closely joined that none could see the seams on the outside of the hull. There is no tradition that the two Samoans affected in any way Pukapukan canoe-building technique.

322 Preferred woods for canoe building are: *makanava* and *uetau* for hull sections; *puapua* for washstrakes and outrigger cross booms; *pukama* for the outrigger float; *ngangie* for outrigger connecting pegs, diagonal braces, and lifting bars. Most single-piece dugout canoes are built of *pukama* (hence its name, *poti pukama*), with outrigger float of the same wood and connecting pegs of *ngangie* wood.

322 501 FIGURE 24.—Medium-sized Pukapukan canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum: outrigger detached for storage; lashing together of canoe hull by through-and-through method; metal plates have been added to outside of hull joins to protect sennit lashings from being severed by sharp coral. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 8.)

FIGURE 25.—Six-boom canoe. *a*, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of hull; 2, middle section; 3, stern section; 4, washstrake; 5, fore section of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, forward wave guard; 8, stern cover; 9, after wave guard and bait deck; 10, stern cover decorative cleat; 11, bar rest for trolling pole, used also as seat; 12, spar below which lifting poles are inserted to carry canoe; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom; 15, secondary outrigger boom made necessary by heavy weight of large outrigger; 16, middle outrigger boom. *b*, top view: 1, bow cover sections; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, wider upper edge of hull; 5, outrigger boom, extending in this large canoe well beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, secondary boom running to (8) longitudinal spar; 9, seat with hole for supporting mast, a modern method of support found on only a few canoes; 10, connecting pegs between boom and float; 11, diagonal brace between boom (5) and outrigger connecting pegs (10). Canoe lashed by through-and-through method, used mainly for transporting supplies between Yato, the village of its owner, and Motu Kotawa. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 9.)

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Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 35 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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613 643 597 never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yona*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonised. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yona*) round the neck of the successor and the *taumaka* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

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613 643 173 773 Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day. The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakauyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakauyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakauyika could find a champion (*toa*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The feat was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakauyika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *lupe* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clean and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

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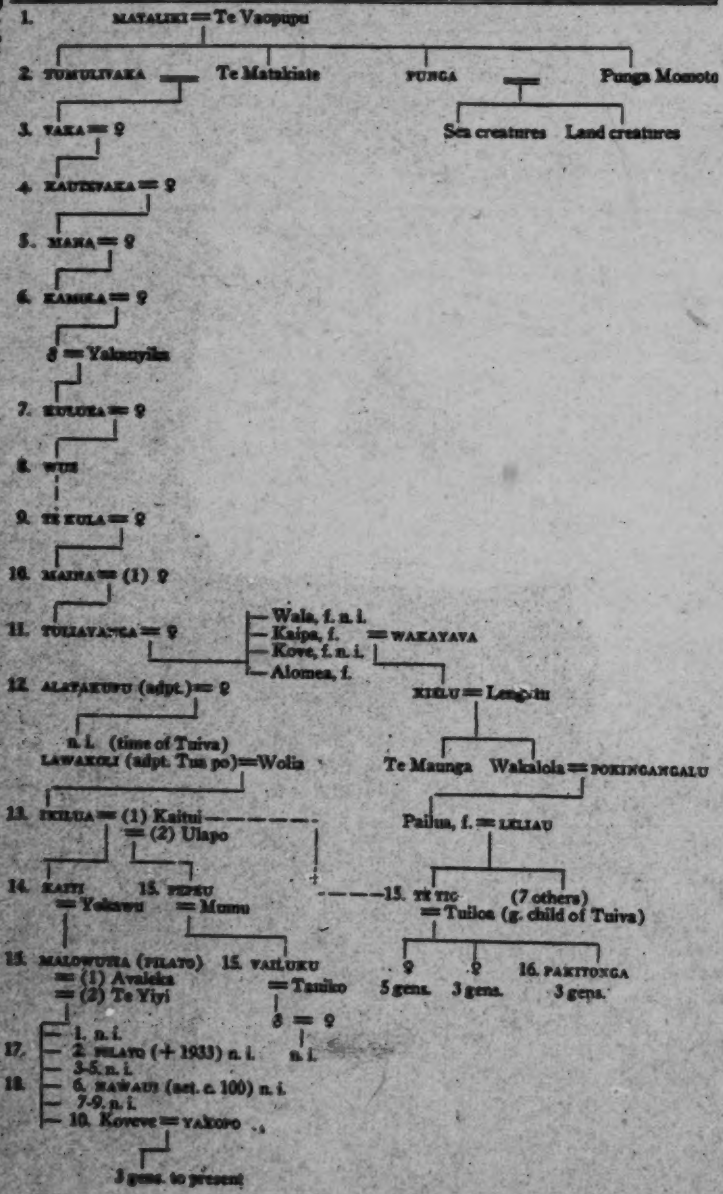
Table 4. Aliki Succession


1. MATALIKI = Te Vaopupu
2. TUMULIVAKA — Te Matakiate
PUNGA — Punga Momoto
Sea creatures
Land creatures
3. VAKA = ♀
4. KAUTEVAKA = ♀
5. MANA = ♀
6. KAMEA = ♀
♂ = Yakauyika
7. KULUEA = ♀
8. WUI
9. TE KULA = ♀
10. MAINA = (1) ♀
11. TULIAVANGA = ♀
Wala, f. n. i.
Kaipa, f.
Kove, f. n. i.
Alomea, f.
= WAKAYAVA
12. ALATAKUFU (adpt.) = ♀
KIKLU = Lengitu
n. i. (time of Tuiva)
LAWAKOLI (adpt. Tua po) = Wolia
Te Maunga
Wakaloia = POKINGANGALU
13. TKILUA = (1) Kaitui
= (2) Ulapo
Pailua, f. = LELIAU
14. KAITI = Yokuwu
15. PEPEU = Mumu
15. TE TIC = Tuikoa (g. child of Tuiva)
(7 others)
15. MALOWUHIA (FILATO) = (1) Avaleka = (2) Te Yiyi
15. VAILUKU = Tauiko
♀ 5 gens.
♀ 3 gens.
16. PAKITONGA 3 gens.
♂ = ♀
n. i.
17. 1. n. i.
2. FILATO (+ 1933) n. i.
3-5. n. i.
18. 6. HAWAII (est. c. 100) n. i.
7-9. n. i.
10. Koveve = YAKOPO
3 gens. to present

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The members of Kamola's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakauyika's nominee. Yakauyika named Kuluea, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kuluea was her son by Kamola's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamola, or by another husband.

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tamaliki, probable son of Kamola.

The seventh chief, Kuluea, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevans sent by the chiefs of Yayake (p. 381). Wue, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and sea-rover, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wanguna assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of license, tapu-breaking, and debauchery which was finally ended by the great seismic wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wanguna was contemporary with Wue, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wanguna rose to authority because of Wue's absence.

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Te Kula, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restarted, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*puna mua*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wala, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

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When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatakupu succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatakupu was fresh in their minds.

Tuiva, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Loto without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tulia-

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yanga, but genealogies give none of his three wives as related to Tuliayanga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ikilua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wolia. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Tua lineage, killed with the chief Alatakupu. Tuiva took the youth Ikilua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation. Ikilua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally inducted into office to become the thirteenth chief. Ikilua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

[622] Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Tuliayanga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ikilua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ikilua nominated her adopted son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepeu, blood son of Ikilua and Ulapo, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Loto. Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawu, was descended from Manihiki castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Metua) also had traces of Manihiki blood in him. When Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manihikians), who then was the executive officer (*yula*), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepeu in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Loto.

Pepeu was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Mataliki and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepeu were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amiable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

[721] When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia, and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded informally by his brother, the present chief, Nawaui, a man now about 100 years old. Nawaui insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawaui's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngake are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

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TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

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Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, probably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account:

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E toka kakao mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki lunga. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko teia atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua teia yau mai Tonga; no Tonga i a Tamayei. Yia loa i a Tonga e Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Onoonowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kikokiko i a Maui Potiki e tana ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valovalo ki a Maui Mua, "Onoonowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa lunga, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kawalalo a Maui ma te talatala i a Maui ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya ulua, mo?" ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti ki lunga, wuwuti ki lunga. Tauvalo loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowia te papalangi, koa lele na vave o te ika." Onoono i a Maui Mua, e ulu lakau teia. Kaka loa i a Maui Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te mea nei." Wuwuti loa ki lunga, koa oko ki te konga o tana kau. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe konga o te ulu lakau. Kakao oki te toe konga. Kakao oki te toe konga. Wuwuti la, wuwuti la, oko ki lunga. Iii loa te vaka ki lunga. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti e Maui. Ko Tonga teia wenua. Koa pae ki lunga te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Maui Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Maui Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Maui Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Maui Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Maui Potiki.

The lower line of Maui was reached, with Maui saying to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "My fish here is a *yaya ulua*, isn't it?" with Maui Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Maui Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Maui Mua looked, these were tree tops, Maui Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Maui was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on top.

1. [See category 539 or 116 -- analyst.]

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539 Yau loa Te Atua Vaelua ki a Mataliki. Talatala loa ki ai, "Wano koe uluna e wawine ma koe. Teia te konga ka wano ai koe; wano ki Tongaleleva, wano koe ki a Te Alo Talanga. Koiai tana tamawine. Ko te wawine ia ka aumai e koe, wai wawine ma koe; ko Te Vaopupu te ingoa o te tamawine." Wano loa i a Mataliki, wano loa, wano loa, e, oko kiai. Ulu atu ki te wawine na talatala mai i a Te Atua Vaelua. Kitea loa e Mataliki. Tango loa i a Mataliki i te tamawine ia, aumai loa ki Te Ulu o Te Watu na tupu ai i a Mataliki.

Nono ai te tokalua, nono ai, nono ai, e, koa loa te vaia. Yapu loa i a Te Vaopupu. Wanau loa, to loa te tama, e tamatane, ko Tumulivaka te ingoa. Pupute oki wakawou, to oki; e tamawine, ko Te Matakiate te ingoa. E tautua no Tumulivaka. Nono loa te tokawa. Nono ai ma te onoono i a Tumulivaka ki te waiwai a Mataliki. Koa opoopo i te wui atua ki ona tawa. Onoono loa i a Tumulivaka, ka kavea te wenua e Mataliki ki te wui atua. Lili loa i a Tumulivaka. Aka loa i te wenua, motu. Teka i a Mataliki ma Te Vaopupu ki te kaokao ki lalo. Teka i a Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate ke te mata wenua. Oti ai. Tawanga laua lua tamaliki; tawanga lua matutua. Oti ai te tala o te tupuanga o te wenua.

The god Vaelua came to Mataliki. He said to him, "You go to seek a wife for yourself. This is the place you shall go; go to Tongaleleva. Go to Te Alo Talanga. There is his daughter. That woman you will bring back to be a wife for you; Te Vaopupu is the name of the girl." Mataliki went, he went, went, e-e-e-, arrived there. He looked for the girl mentioned to him by the god Vaelua. She was seen by Mataliki. Mataliki took that girl, brought her back to the Head of the Rock which had grown Mataliki.

The two lived on, lived on, lived on, e-e-e-; a long time it was. Te Vaopupu became pregnant. She gave birth to a child, the child was born, a male child, Tumulivaka was his name. She swelled again, gave birth also, a girl child; Te Matakiate was her name. She was a younger sister of Tumulivaka. The group of four lived on. They lived on with Tumulivaka watching the doings of Mataliki. He was gathering the many gods at his side. Tumulivaka watched. Mataliki was going to give the island to the many gods. Tumulivaka got angry. He stamped on the island; it broke in two. Mataliki and Te Vaopupu moved to the western side. Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate moved to the eastern side of the island. That was over. The two children mated and had offspring; the two parents had offspring. Finished is the story of the origin of the island.

173 It is evident from this origin story and from the genealogy (table 4, p. 241) that the mythical establishment of the population of Pukapuka came about through brother-sister marriages and close kin inter-marriage. The two children of Mataliki, Punga and Punga Momoto, are apparently introduced into the genealogy to account for the origin of the maternal lineages. Nothing more is heard of Te Vaopupu; unlike her daughter, she does not seem to have become a goddess.

173 The genealogy (table 4, p. 241) gives a total of 22 generations from Mataliki to the present day. Following the accepted practice of allowing 25 years to a generation, a practice which seems to err greatly on the liberal side, for atoll life at any rate, the founding of Pukapuka is set about 550 years ago. But this figure does not allow for the indeterminate number of years after the time of Wue and the seismic wave; a generation or more may have passed at this time without leaving any record. Confirmation of this is

1. [See Category 173 or 116 -- analysti]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

given in informant's statement that Wanguna, who caused much of the trouble at this time, was but a small child when Wue sailed away on his voyages, and that she gained power later when people were not sure whether Wue's son was going to return to Pukapuka to succeed his father or was going to live for the rest of his life in the land of Witi. (See p. 242 for other opinions.) Wue's son finally died in Witi (Fiji?) without succeeding to the title held by his father. Another period that is not allowed for in this count of generations is the period of Tuiva's regency between the twelfth and thirteenth chiefs. This probably lasted 20 or more years. Taking into consideration these two periods, about two generations, it would seem that Pukapukan history goes back in time about 600 years. The catastrophic seismic wave which overwhelmed the atoll occurred on this time-scale about 13 generations ago. Other genealogies place the occasion for this wave at 11 or 12 generations back. Allowing again for the regency of Tuiva, it must have occurred about 350 years ago.

Pukapukan traditional history before the seismic wave (*te mate wolo*, the great death) is concerned primarily with the following: voyages away from Pukapuka by Pukapukan navigators, the arrival in Pukapuka of migrants or visitors from the Tokelau Islands, a mass migration of settlers from a land called Yayake, further invaders from a land called Tongaleleva, contact between Pukapuka and Nassau Island, and the events that led up to the seismic wave. Accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka to Tonga, Niue, the Tokelau Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Equatorial Islands, and Manihiki are left for separate consideration because they do not add anything to the traditional account of the development of Pukapuka. Further stories about historic characters whose activities are incidental to the main story are left for separate narration also (1).

PERIOD BEFORE THE WAVE

Immigrants

The first canoe whose arrival in Pukapuka is remembered came from the west, probably from the Tokelau Islands, a long time before the seismic wave. It was probably a drift canoe, because it contained only one man named Te Mutu, a priest. The canoe landed at the reef channel, later called Te Ava-Mutu. Te Mutu settled down at the place in Loto called Utelei and built there a sacred enclosure. Many years later he built a new canoe and sailed away again from Pukapuka, never to return. He is remembered by the reef channel name, by the name of his enclosure, and by frequent references in chants.

Two accounts of the migration to Pukapuka of many people (*tini*, "more than a thousand") from the land of Yayake were obtained. This migration

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occurred before the wave, but the chief at the time is forgotten. It is likely that it was during the reign of Kamola or before. The translation of the textual account follows:

THE REVENGE (LITERALLY, THE OVEN) OF TWO GIRLS

They were from Tonga. These were their two brothers: Manawune and Tangaloa. The two girls went to Yayake. They climbed up at Na Tua-wuewue. They chanted. The island listened to the beauty of their voices. They went through the land to (the chief) Tuyimate. (The people) were lifted up to the place to be made merry by the two girls. Tuyimate was placed below. Above were the two girls. They had climbed up on Na Tua-wuewue. "O Tuyimate, just look upward." Tuyimate looked up. The two girls fell down. Both were killed.

The night darkened. The two spirits went to Tonga to the place where were their two brothers, Manawune and Tangaloa. They climbed up on to the platform of the house. They, the spirits, cried: "We have both been killed." Their two brothers asked, "One left? All? None left? Both finished?" That was over. Their two brothers arose, girt on their malos, seized their weapons, launched the canoe, climbed in. They paddled to Yayake. Before their going they had already fought with Tokaipole and Taupeloa.

Arrived at Yayake, they burned Na Tua-wuewue. Finished, they went to the copulating places. These were the copulating places (*you*): Poike, Niutao, Tane, Tapungaye. First to the *you* of Poike; they fought with Poike, struck Poike dead. They also struck down all the people. They went to the *you* of Niutao, fought with Niutao, struck Niutao dead. They also destroyed his *you* completely. They went to the *you* of Tane, fought with Tane, struck Tane dead, ravaged his *you*. They went to the *you* of Tapungaye, fought with Tapungaye, struck Tapungaye dead, destroyed his *you* completely. They ravaged the entire island.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa heard of this. The two of them came. They (four) met again. Tokaipole and Taupeloa spoke, "We can not fight, we have already fought in Tonga."[30] We shall sail away."

The people of Yayake sailed away. Some thousands went to some islands, other thousands to other islands. The group in which were Tokaipole and Taupeloa came to Pukapuka. They came to the south, where is the islet, Ko. They landed at Te Aumaloa. Taupeloa and Tokaipole talked, "Let us stay close to this island. Yayake is a bad-mouthed island. From early times the mouth of Yayake has been spoken of. We two shall break with Yayake so that we are completely apart." They went to the back of the island to the west of which Matawea is the name.

The large group stayed there at Te Aumaloa. They developed work. These were their works they developed: digging out talo beds, digging wells, and planting coconut trees.

There was born Te Vave-na-to-i-Te-Aumaloa (The Warrior-born-at-Te-Aumaloa), a male child.

This was his peculiar characteristic, he flew on high like a bird. He had no wings. This was his nature: when he flew above, he would go to the sea to catch mating turtles, to catch schools of bonito, to catch schools of albacore, to bring back to the group of the many Yayake people for them to eat. This was their further activity, making talo puddings (*likoliko*) and decayed coconut (*yomi*).

There developed a grudge on the part of one woman from having received an unjustly small share of the food. Kumawawine was her name. She went to Matautu, covered her head with a basket. She swam across the water to Matawea. She spoke to Tokaipole and Taupeloa. This was her betrayal, "You two, you watch out with your ignorance. Why, there's a warrior who has grown, a strong one who flies above. This

[30] It was suggested that they knew the Tongans were too strong for them.

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is his other characteristic, he goes to the sea, catches turtles, brings back bonito, brings back albacore." Tokaipole asked, "Is that so?"

Tokaipole arose, took his spear, hurled it up to the sky so that it would be seen by Taupeloa who was at sea, who was fishing. Taupeloa looked there, the spear of Tokaipole was flashing. He said to his sailors, "What is it with my man that he hurls his spear? We shall go to the shore. There is probably something that has happened." They (the crew) came back to the shore, where Kumawawine was staying.

The two asked, "What is the nature of that strong man? Is his height like that of this black tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No, it is higher." They looked out, "Is it like that of that ghost tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No". They watched the tern which flew very high. The woman said, "Yes, like that." Tokaipole seized the spear, hurled it, so that it reached the tern. Finished, they struck the woman dead. This is the reason they killed that woman, that she might not return again and tell their words.

They stayed on. Arrived at another day, they went to seek their strategy by which Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa would die. They saw their method. This was their method: an outrigger. They waited for a nasty day, pounding thunder, flashing lightning, rain. Finished. They went to press the outrigger on and so suffocate the group of the many Yayake people who had multiplied well. They killed starting from the road of Matiku. They reached the Ivi-i-Mawuke. The outrigger was broken there by one strong man. A child had also cried out, "Give me my food." No, indeed, that was a warning signal. The warrior who had broken the outrigger arose, "Wo! Yayake, danger!" The people woke up.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa went on to Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa. They were seen by him. He flew above. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him. Te Vave turned, he was going to fly to the other islands. He was made to return by the power of the goddess Tau. Te-Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew along, flew over the outer reef. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him from below. They thrust their spears, they did not reach up, were too low. They reached the place, the Alai-of-Palaoa. Palaoa said to Taupeloa and Tokaipole, "Come, he's a bad one, this man flies above." Tokaipole and Taupeloa said, "Here in us is your lifesaver." Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew, reached the sea at the channel, was going to fly to the north. The spear of Taupeloa shot out, straight to the ankle. Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa fell down.

The people gathered there. They spoke, "What is the reason that this man flew? Just split him open." They opened him, he had eight hearts. They gave him the name Watu-manava-mui (Many-hearts). They also gave the name to the place where he fell. Wulumanu-a-te-tokalua (Bird-feather-of-the-two). They took Many-hearts and buried him at the channel. It is finished.

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A second account gives other details about the extermination of the Yayake people at Te Aumaloa:

The Tongan warriors cut down big logs of *puka* wood and went to the Yayake village in the middle of the night. It was the custom of the Yayake people to sleep in open-sided houses, a line of people together, their heads resting on a long log serving as a pillow. The Tongans came to each house, placed the log quietly on the line of necks, and then by pressing hard at each end of the log they suffocated between the upper and lower logs all the people resting in the house. They continued killing until they came to the last house, where a child suffering from a nightmare kept calling to its mother, "E matua, aumai aku mea ke yamuyamu ai au" (Mother, bring me my things—food—that I may eat). The cries of this child woke the people of the house so that they were awake when the Tongans appeared outside. When the log was placed on their necks, one man jumped up and broke it in two. He alarmed the rest of the people, and all ran off in separate directions. The Tongans and their supporters chased them till dawn. At daylight they came on Te Vave resting on his stone couch or bench (*tokeselaagi*) on the outer beach. They rushed to surround him, but he rose into the air and flew off down the reef. The account of his death follows the preceding account.

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173 The Tongans continued to hunt down the survivors of the Yayake people. They warned the Pukapukans on Wale that the Yayake people were bad and vicious of tongue, so the Pukapukans gathered together the Yayake people, who came to Wale, took them to a space near the cemetery of i Tua in Loto village, and killed them all. A big grave (*lua*) was dug and all the bodies were thrown in. This place is known today as Te-lua-o-Yayake. Watu-manava-nui was buried on the outer beach by the reserve of Niua. The seismic wave swept away his grave and his bones, and nothing remains of him on Pukapuka today. The site of his stone bench is still pointed out on the outer beach of Motu Ko. The original stone bench was destroyed generations ago. Another was built in about the same place, but this too is in ruins; only a few fragments of stone scattered on the beach remain as mute evidence of the place where the "bird man" was wont to cool himself in the evening breezes. Tokaipole was buried on the boundary between Loto and Yato, close to the cemetery of Tua lineage. Taupeloa was buried on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, east of the main village road.

Only one person, a woman named Kaui, is remembered to have survived the extermination of the Yayake people; she died soon after without leaving issue. The wretchedness of her existence on the reef rocks, intensified by the death of her Pukapukan lover, is the theme of a popular story fragment.

173 Some time after the extermination of the people from Yayake, another canoe came to Pukapuka. It was a big double canoe (*taulua*) with a crew
173 of 300 men; its owner and captain was Luaivaipapa, a warrior (*toa*) said to have been 10 fathoms tall. His crew were all at least 5 fathoms tall. The canoe came from Tongaleleva, a land to the north of Pukapuka, because to reach it from Pukapuka navigators sailed with the south (*pua*) wind dead astern. The name refers perhaps to one of the Equatorial Islands. The story of how this canoe came to Pukapuka was told by informant Pau after discussing it with other men:

539 At the time of the seventh chief, Kuluea, there were two chiefs in Yayake, both possessed of special magical powers. The first chief was called Tuyiyauola; the second, Tuyimate. Whenever Tuyimate looked on a person or animal or insect, the power of
173 his gaze killed the creature. It was he who killed the two Tongan sisters in the account given above of the Yayake people. Tuyiyauola had the power of resurrecting life. Whenever he looked on a dying thing or person, life came back again; and in the land of Yayake a dying person was always brought to him to be given new life. Tuyiyauola also had at his command a very powerful magic which could reach over the ocean, even as far as Pukapuka or Uvea. He heard of a very beautiful woman in Pukapuka and he desired her. He put some of his semen into the half of a coconut shell, covered the shell with another half shell, and set it adrift in the sea. The shell drifted over the ocean and came to rest on the beach in front of Loto village. The woman whom he desired lived close by. She felt a power inside her. She walked to the beach and found there a coconut shell. She picked it up, took it back to her house and hid it. In the middle of the night, when all were asleep, she opened the shell and found the semen inside it. She rubbed the semen over her body and felt a longing for Tuyiyauola. The

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woman waited and then discovered that she had conceived a child to which she later gave birth. The name of the woman was Yinalekimokimo. The child was a male child, but its mother gave it no name because this was the duty of its father.

The woman had two brothers whose names were Te Maunga-yui and Te Malokaneton. These two knew that Tuyiyauola desired their sister's child to succeed him as chief of Yayake, so they set out in a canoe to carry the child to Yayake. In this land Tuyiyauola had several wives and families (*puna*). These families lived in a wooden house several stories high, with platforms superimposed one above the other. On the lowest platform lived the fifth wife of the chief; on the next platform lived his fourth wife, and so on to the topmost platform where lived the principal wife of the chief. When the Yayake people and the wives of the chief saw the two Pukapukan men arrive with another child of the chief, they were angry. "Who is this child?" they asked. "Why bring it to the chief? This child can not be an heir to him. Throw the child into the sea."

Tuyiyauola became frightened at this talk and agreed to throw the child into the sea. But when the child was dropped into the ocean and left to drown, the tame whales of the chief picked up the child and, tossing it from one to the other, threw it back onto the beach. This was hailed as a proof that the child was meant to be the heir to the chief, so it was taken in and housed by the fifth family on the lowest platform of the house. The chief soon called for the child to be brought to him on the topmost story. The eldest child of the chief by his principal wife protested, saying, "This new child must not come before me in succession to the chiefly title." But his father would not listen and ordered the child to be brought before him. As the child was coming along the edge of the topmost platform, the eldest son made magic, and the child from Pukapuka fell to earth and died with a broken neck.

When the chief found this child was dead, he desired to send a gift of sympathy to the mother in Pukapuka. He therefore looked for someone trustworthy to bear a gift of a tooth from one of his pet whales to Pukapuka. He could find no one in Yayake. He sent for the Tongaleleva people, and when they came to Yayake he asked them to bear the gift to Pukapuka. They agreed and returned to Tongaleleva to find a canoe crew.

Luaivaipapa, the captain, tested his crew by striking each man on the back of the head with the fist. If the man's head did not bend forward, he was considered strong enough to become a member of the crew, but if his head moved forward under the blow, he was discarded in favor of a stronger man. Luaivaipapa chose his crew thus and sailed again to Yayake. The chief gave him the tooth, saying, "Be very careful of this gift. If you lose it, you will get into serious trouble. Go to Pukapuka and give it to the woman Yinalekimokimo."

The canoe set off but soon ran into heavy weather. Luaivaipapa thought the tooth must be causing trouble, so he dropped it overboard. After this the weather got better and the canoe sailed well. Recalling the chief's threat of trouble if anything happened to the tooth, he decided to go on to Pukapuka, kill all the people there, and settle down himself on the island away from the anger of the chief. He made a landfall in the middle of the night. It was a dark and stormy night with rain, wind, thunder, and lightning. This bad weather was caused by the Pukapukan gods so that the strangers might not clearly see the island or the people on it. The canoe therefore came up to the reef and dropped anchor to ride out the gale and await daylight.

In the height of the stormy weather Luaivaipapa decided to go ashore with two of his men to spy out the land. The three landed on the beach at the back of Yato and walked through the bush until they came to the fish pond of Yato. They tasted the water here, found it fresh, and so called out to each other, "Teia la, lelei te yua o tai o Te Tu" (The water of the sea of Te Tu is good). They walked along the beach of the lagoon. The chief Kulpea saw the strangers go past his house. He was frightened to see men higher than coconut trees. He called on his gods and then went to arouse his men. First he went to the houses of Matanga lineage, then to the houses of

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Muliwutu, then to the houses of Yangalipule. At each of these houses he threw stones and called, but none would waken. At his own house none would waken. At last he came to the houses of Yamaunga. He threw stones, and two men came outside. These two were the brothers who had taken the child to Yayake. Kuluea said, "Why do you sleep so fast? I have seen something terrible and we are likely to be all killed." Meantime the three strangers had been seen going back to their canoe. The chief told the two men to stay on the reef near the canoe and to kill everything they saw in the water, even if it meant striking at drift rubbish.

The three Pukapukans consulted their gods and then went out to the reef. Kuluea dived into the water, swam to the canoe, and cut the anchor rope. The canoe quickly drifted away and soon drifted as far as Witi (Fiji?). When Luaivaipapa found out what had happened, he woke his sleeping men. "Pick up your paddles and give one mighty stroke," he said. The men obeyed, and with one stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. They dropped anchor again and went to sleep. Seeing them, the chief again cut the anchor rope. Three times he did this, three times the canoe drifted to Witi, three times with one paddle stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. After the third time Luaivaipapa watched carefully instead of sleeping; he saw the chief coming to the surface after his dive from the reef. He struck Kuluea with his foot, and so powerful was the blow that the chief was pushed to the bottom of the sea, where he fell on the ocean floor, alive but so crushed as to be helpless.

The god Kui saw the crushed chief. Kui gave Kuluea *lomilomi* treatments and brought him back to normal. The chief stood on a rock at the bottom of the ocean. With one mighty push he hurled himself to the surface with great speed. His head smashed into the bottom of the Tongalelevan canoe and split the canoe into fragments. Standing on one piece of the broken canoe, Kuluea knocked into the water the god house, the representatives of the gods inside the house, and all the people. The crew called out to their gods to save them, but the gods were helpless before the Pukapukan gods. Kuluea killed many of the men; the rest were killed by the two Pukapukan warriors waiting on the reef.

To revenge the death of their nephew, the two Pukapukan warriors later went to Yayake. They landed and killed all the people on the flat lands by the sea; then they went inland to the mountains and killed other people living there. They came to the copulating places (*yau*), and like their Tongan predecessors, they killed the people congregated in them. When they came to the village of Tuyiyauola the chief threw magic stones at them, but these failed to kill the Pukapukan men. When the chief discovered that the men were determined to kill him, he stamped his foot on the land, and the land was separated into two pieces, one of which was called Matiku, the other Rarotonga. The two Pukapukan warriors drifted away on the land called Matiku, and in the end came back to Pukapuka. Tuyiyauola remained on the part of the land called Rarotonga. This was the end of the Yayake people.

There are several interesting points in this story of the chief of Yayake. The word that the Tongalelevans used in praying to their gods when their canoe was smashed to pieces is remembered as "tulou". This word has no meaning in the Pukapukan dialect, but the same word is used in Samoa when entering a god house. All accounts of Yayake mention the places called *yau* where groups of people met together for copulation. The same institution functioned in Pukapuka, but it is said to have been introduced from Yayake. *Yau* is recognized as a foreign word for the name of these places, the native Pukapukan word being *ati*. It was impossible to get details or an interpretation of the five-platform house of Tuyiyauola. Other accounts tell of a place in Yayake called Te Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains

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come together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is known by his name.

It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sasa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapukan word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayakeers left Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. The word Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Pukapuka from the Tokelau Islands:

> The captain of the canoe was Te Anu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualeu, Tapotoa, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine men (*kau wowota*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a sennit string. The perfumed, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.
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> Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wale, and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualeu and another place called Puputa (Scent—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

Contact with Nassau

In the time of Kuluea and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles southeast. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following accounts:

> Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god Matalliki. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wale, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. Tima was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. Tima came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also, so Tima went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

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were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and forth between Wale and Nassau.

Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaongao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred sitting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

One popular legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka tells of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling themselves Na Tini (The Many ?). It was Kuialaloa, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kuialaloa and his father, Tautuna:

Kuialaloa, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take offense if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Toutuinga, to remonstrate with Kuialaloa privately and persuade him to paddle. Toutuinga did this, but Kuialaloa objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kuialaloa took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe capsized. Tautuna was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kuialaloa did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuna was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of superhuman powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuna mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, tip Tautuna into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be miserable. Tautuna and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitonganuku noticed them. Talitonganuku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. So Talitonganuku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuna and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitonganuku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kuialaloa was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto

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the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialalou, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangahipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

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that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukinga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lasi*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*uakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te pale*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the taro swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

Civil War

Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

THE FIGHT IN WALETOA

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa[1] torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

578 [1] The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *wele* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when
778 a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the
539 many men.
669 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with
669 the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten
621 but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although
166 the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngayu* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka:

I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

Further Bloodshed

The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal character, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust or mere deviltry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was food division. The fishing group of young men, the *tangaŋa*, brought back turtle and other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernormal sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Wale, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Tana to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vana. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group: all save Te Keli and Nuanua, who escaped back to Wale along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Wale and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuanua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuanua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngake, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery.. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *oloa* dirge:

Moe ma te toto e,
Tatou tatangi ki motu e,
Na mauli kape i mata e, kape ma na vae.

Tino yauleña, ye vava, yaele wua mai tai nei—

Tiaki te kukai matua, no latou na vaia,
E tengia kotou i to kotou tangata,
Wuli wua mai ki a koe te potiki o te takanga
a te wui mulivaka,
Koa ngalo koe, e ule kaina i to pou tu,

To yiku tala wywuli ko te matamatangi—

Na wakatekateka la lalo
Wakatupoupou atu koe ki Mulivae.
E toku wuvale, e toku taina,
Aku wakauluia mai koe ko to wale atua.

Na patua ko loto o Talikai.

Namuiai koe pe Welei,
Ko ye tua na waitunga o tangata o te atu
Samoa.
Koa yau loa to tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua.
Ko te vaka o Te Palo ya tele.
Tenei au e tungoungou wakamanava
Wakamailunga i te kainga ma te kau na to a
kotou ma te ulu leka kotou.
E oku taina, ka vave ake au pe Uyo,
Ke aku tuki atu i na ngutu lalalala e
Makeke ake, nenewu.
Koa toka me to winangalo e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talikai.
You smelled like Welei.[28]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[29]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyo,[30]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Tuna and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pailoa. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tuna to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[28] A character in a popular story.
[29] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[30] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

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173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, including you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat.
643 Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead,
669 that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with
152 other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawanga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka* tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)

That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship (*payi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakauu* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngawaliwali* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tulikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture:[1]

Tuiva was a child of Taonge, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage. This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuliayanga was dead.

Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

1. [See category 116, pp. 395-399 -- analyst.]

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They invented their strange trick. They came, talking as they walked. They arrived at Te Walatapepe. One of the children among them suggested, "You make a fake, O Wakitula (the oldest); you are the one Tuiva favors. Pretend to have broken your arms and your legs; when we reach the place where Tuiva is, you cry out, pretend to be in great pain." Finished the discussion, they wrapped the arms and legs and body of Wakitula in the "bark" of the *vavai* creeper, so that it would seem that these were parts hit by Takitini with his weapon, so that Tuiva would go to kill Takitini. Finished wrapping up Wakitula, they carried him. When they drew near to the place where Tuiva was staying, Wakitula cried, raising his voice high, "Awei, my arm is broken, and my side is pierced, and my leg broken. How it hurts! You carry me carefully, don't shake."

When Tuiva heard, he recognized that this was the voice of Wakitula. He looked out with both his eyes, the hand was hanging, the arms and legs were wrapped up. Tuiva became stiff with shock. He got up, seized his weapon and his spear. He did not question the children. Tuiva thought Takitini had struck him, from the reports of the children on the other days. The children only said to Tuiva, who was running with the weapon, "Your reason for sending us was not this." Tuiva ran on. Takitini was staying in the space between Utupoa and the Motu of Te Tali. Takitini looked at Tuiva, who was running with the spear. Takitini did not know the reason Tuiva ran there. But indeed it was because of the deceitful trick of the children, which they had played on Tuiva. Takitini watched the spear of Tuiva shooting towards him from above him. Takitini warded off the blow with his stick. The hurling of Tuiva was mistaken. Takitini was a skillful person. Takitini ran away.

Tuiva chased him through the *ngayu* bushes of the place Te Kalele. Takitini climbed on top of the *ngayu*, came down in another place. He was speared by Tuiva from behind with his spear, tight in the side of the back. Takitini seized the spear, pulled it out, threw it at Tuiva. Takitini ran to Watumoana, who stayed in Te Newu.* He crawled up to the front of his body. Tuiva ran there, flourished his weapon, he was going to hurl it from above. Watumoana objected, "What's the matter? You do this for no reason? That's enough. You have come to me here. You are not showing me proper respect." Tuiva did not listen to Watumoana, "You get out of the way, just push aside, this man did not show respect for me and my children." Tuiva speared Takitini, hard. Takitini died. If only Takitini had turned to explain to Tuiva. I don't know, it is not known which was the man of the two of them who would get the worst of it, Takitini was a strong and skillful person. From his having killed Te Ki and Kaleva in Uta, his mind had been made dull. Then too Tuiva did not listen to the words of Watumoana. He had known that Takitini was strong, therefore Tuiva had taken revenge; he did not show respect.

Finished, Tuiva went back to his house, to his children; they were certainly all right; it was indeed only lies of theirs. Hence the saying, "The death-bringing lies of the children."

Finished the death of Takitini, Watumoana went to the crowd of Yato, they were going to kill Tuiva. Watumoana was a man of Matanga of the sub-lineage Angialulu. These are the names of the Yato group: Uikele, Vakaua, Vakauli, Puyaka, Te Kele, and Watumoana, a Ngake man. They talked in the evening. This was their talk, they were going to kill all the men of the island, so that they were finished; the women of Pukapuka would be for themselves. This was the further decision of theirs, they were going to make Tuiva the first, he was the strong man of the time. They were going to make the rest of the men last. Finished the discussion in the evening, they went to prepare, they girt on their malos, sharpened their weapons with *pala* jawbone knives, and did their other things.

Uikele went away to his and Matautu's house. Matautu was the wife of Uikele. He climbed up on the platform, prepared his things. Matautu was sleeping below. His knife fell on the breast of Matautu. Matautu asked, "What are you doing there?

* The name of the sacred enclosure of the god Tulihala.

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Aren't these nights for the people to sleep?" Uikele did not answer. Matautu was figuring it out in her mind, "What is the thing of this group?" Finished the doing of Uikele, he jumped down, went to the place where they were gathering. When Uikele moved outside, Matautu also went to the side of their house. This was what Matautu figured out, "Isn't this group going to kill the group of all the men?" Tuiva was a cousin-in-avoidance of hers. Besides, Katinga, the wife of Tuiva, was a blood-sister of hers.

Matautu went to Matala, where Tuiva lived at that time. She did not get right up to the house, she stood just at the side. She threw stones to the side of the house. Tuiva and Katinga were sleeping in the deep midnight sleep of the people. Tuiva was a person who slept wakefully, the sleep of the strong. Tuiva heard the stones rattling. He wakened Katinga, "Just you get up to see what are the things rattling there." Katinga stood up to look, "Nothing." Katinga came back inside their house. Katinga said it was nothing, "It's nothing probably." They listened again, rocks were being thrown. Tuiva said again, "There they are rattling again. You get up." Katinga got up again to look. Katinga again said to Tuiva it was nothing, "Why, there's nothing." Tuiva said, "Just walk out to the front."

As to the doing of Matautu, she was sheltering in the back in case Tuiva got up, because they were cousins-in-avoidance. Matautu looked, it was Katinga. She showed herself to her. Matautu said to Katinga, "Tell the group of all the men there, he is going to be killed by the group of Yato."

Katinga came, told Tuiva, "Why, you are going to be killed by the group of Yato." Tuiva listened, he did not delay. He got up, tore the net matting. He girt on his malo. He ran to his brother, Kilika. He went to Kilika, who was making pretty his voice (singing), he was lying chanting with his mates in the young men's house (*wale lopa*). Tuiva objected, "While you make happy the voice, your death is being planned. Why, we are going to be killed by the crowd of Yato."

Kilika listened to the speech of Tuiva. Kilika arose, told his companions to come carry their fighting sticks. His companions arose, girt on their malos. Tuiva said to one pair of them that they come with him to trap fish at night, so that they would have some food to go with their talo pudding made by Katinga in the night. They went to the small channels; they got one net full with the net of *taiva* and *vete* and some other fish. They came, brought them to Katinga, who baked them in the night.

They prepared their weapons. Their food cooked, they ate their food. The night was cut into two (half gone). It would soon be dawn. The group went to search for the Yato group.

The six of Yato: the preparing of their weapons was over. They went to tie the several stone representations of the gods with coconut leaves, so that their going-out would be lucky. They went to Te Mangamanga and Talitonganuku, and Taua, and Mataliki and the other gods. They also went to collect the weapons in the several weapon houses of the various lineages and the weapons in other places.

The preparation of their things over, they went to kill Tuiva first. They came along to the talo garden of Valua. They came on to the Motu-o-Kaikole. A man was sleeping there, Tuanumui was his name. They struck him dead. They came to the reserve at Matala, to Tuiva. The man they had killed came to life again, he was brought back to life by the gods. It was not right for him to die, he was a man of their side.

They came to the house of Tuiva. They broke into the house. They had finished arranging this plan in advance. When they reached the house of Tuiva, they climbed on top, speared, struck with the weapons from on top. They thought Tuiva was inside. Why, no indeed, he was gone. They looked for him. They said, "He will pay for this, without a doubt. Where has he gone? Come, let's search." They went, searched in Ngake for Kilika and his companions. They looked there, they were gone. They said, "They have gone too. Who told?"

They went to search for Tuiva and Kilika. They searched at the point of Ngake, searched on, they were missing. Then too Tuiva and Kilika were searching for them

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in Yato. They went to look at the several god houses. They went there. They finished tying up their coconut leaf. They tore down the coconut leaf of the eight. They had also not yet seen them. They encircled the bush in the search. Dawn was quickening.

Meanwhile the group of Yato had also thoroughly searched through Wale. They didn't meet the group during the night. Tuiva and Kilika reached the point in Ngake. The Yato group also arrived at Walepia. Still they hadn't been seen. Dawn was quickening. The skin of a man could be seen. They returned in their encircling search. Tuiva and Kilika returned to the shore of Paepae. The Yato group also came to the shore of Kailia. The crowd saw each other. Tuiva and Kilika saw from Paepae. They were seen by the Yato crowd from Kailia.

The crowds ran toward each other. Tuiva and Kilika ran to Wumalolo. Tuiva stamped, both feet were firm in the ground, the coral reached to the ankles. Kilika also stamped, firm. But he didn't stand well (his feet were not planted deep in the sand). The Yato crowd was approaching. They were aiming the spear and their *koko* (throwing weapons). Kilika said to Tuiva, "O Tuiva, my standing is not right. I shall be badly hurt. Is it bad if we two run to Te Wunui? Besides, we are fast-footed." Tuiva felt sorry for his brother, lest he be hurt dead. The two of the pair ran along Waula. One of their weapon carriers fell down. Yakilia was his name. He was speared from on top by the six of Yato. One of their own men, Uikele, warded off the blow with his stick. This was why he was saved by Uikele: Yakilia was a *tuanga tau* of his (a person whose village membership Uikele sponsored). Tuiva and Kilika arrived at Te Wunui. Kilika stamped, firm. Tuiva also stamped, it was not right. The talo bed was soft.

Tuiva had earlier informed Kilika that when he saw Puyaka he was not to hit him, for he was a man who understood the ancient stories and the various fishing signs, and the island genealogies and other things. That was the reason the Yato group was not finished off. This was the other: if the two of them had stayed planted in the place first stamped down by Tuiva, I guess it would have been only the wink of an eye for the (Yato) crowd to be completely finished. Because they took the fight to Wunui, therefore others lived.

The group of Yato arrived there. They hurled at each other with weapons. Tuiva threw first at Watumoana, who was their strength; he died. Puyaka, Vakaua, Te Kele were Kilika's. Watumoana, Uikele, Vakauli were Tuiva's. They threw at each other with weapons. When Tuiva looked at the weapon of Kilika, he noticed that it was turned on its side. Tuiva said to Kilika, "Why, I guess your weapon is tilting sideways, turn it straight." The weapon of Kilika was straightened. Tuiva ran for Vakauli, he died. The dead were two in number.

Tuiva had not seen the flying-up of the spear of Uikele. He guarded himself, he was speared in the groins. He struck his club straight at the end of the spear to deflect it, but unsuccessfully. The point was broken off inside the groin of Tuiva. Tuiva was in great pain. It made him fall, he lay with his stomach on top of Vakauli, of his man who was dead. He bit on him. He only knew that he was going to die. There was Vakaua, he was standing turned toward Tuiva. He was going to hit with his club. The thing was that Tuiva was shielded by the women who crowded on top of Tuiva. Therefore the bad thrusts of Vakaua. Kilika, on the other hand, had washed his forehead, which had been injured, in the pool at Taumalanga, bandaged it with *welo* bark. The voice of Tuiva shouted out to Kilika, "Kilika, oh, I am indeed dying." Kilika jumped over, Vakaua was feinting over Tuiva. Kilika pierced him in the heel; he fell down on the base of his skull. Vakaua died. The dead were three in number.

Meanwhile Uikele had stayed off to the side. The other three ran up: Uikele, Te Kele, and Puyaka. They went to bury themselves alive. They buried their elders who had died first. Meanwhile Tuiva and Kilika were taken by the women and their weapon bearers to take care of their injured parts so that they would be all right. They were all right. They went to look for the group who lived. When they went there, they were already finished burying themselves.

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Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feelings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *kiole* (rat) or *tupua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muliwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and antisocial interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible, have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

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real, but, after all allowance is made, the fact remains that the Pukapukans were daring voyagers, of which the following material is sufficient evidence.

The first voyage of which record still remains is that of Tu (captain) and Longo, who went with a crew in a single outrigger canoe:

These men sailed to the east to look for fresh lands and to increase the prestige of Ngake village. They took with them as stores, fish, cooked foods, talo and nuts, perhaps also fire. Fresh stores they procured from the islands visited. The first land they came to was Walalanga. They placed an offering to their god on this island, setting up a stone around which they tied a coconut leaf. After a short stay, they went on to Wakalava, a very large, long, mountainous land. Their star course to these two lands from Pukapuka was probably the Pleiades. They sailed farther east and came to Tongaleleva, then to Lua Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains, joined together at their tops, made a tunnel through which the canoe sailed. Their next landfall was Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky), where everything was beautiful, rocks, flowers, and trees particularly so. Here they sought to gather the beautiful things they saw about them and bring them back to Pukapuka to show the people. They filled up the canoe with all manner of things and put to sea, but before going far, the flowers had all wilted. They put back to land to gather more, but the flowers wilted again. A third time they gathered flowers, but again they turned to ugliness, so they sailed on without going back, visiting lands in every possible direction.

On their return to Pukapuka, they divided among the people of Ngake all the basalt rocks they had acquired. These were used for adzes. A few plants found in their canoe were planted but they were too dead to take root. Tu and Longo also taught the people their knowledge of strange lands, the star courses to reach them, the names of the winds that blow on the Ngake side. By some the two stars, α and β Centauri, are thought to refer to these two men under their names of Na Mat..-o-te-tokalua (Stars-of-the-pair).

The second voyage of early navigators was that of Tonu (captain) and Taea with a crew of Loto men. It is likely that this voyage represented a rival expedition, seeking to emulate or excel the voyage of the Ngake men.

The voyage of Tonu and Taea was made in the season of easterly winds, from April to October. The voyagers visited the island called Te Motu-tuwua (identified by some as Fanning Island) and Te Papakaleva (perhaps one of the Equatorial Islands), both islands frequently mentioned in the legends as having excellent fishing grounds near by. Another island visited was Pa-lakawanga, termed Pule-tutu in a second account because the people of this island burned on funeral pyres the bodies of their dead. At the place called Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky) the navigators tried to pick the flower called *tokolangi*, which is the same plant as that unsuccessfully gathered by the expedition of Tu and Longo. The voyagers came finally to Yayake where the attractiveness of the copulating places tempted them to settle for a time. Afraid, however, of the displeasure of their god, Mataliki, they hurried back to Pukapuka and told the story of their adventures.

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Two voyages which informants thought were next in order nicely mix the improbable with a characteristic Pukapukan view of human nature:

Welei was a man rejected by women. His god took pity on him and made for Welei a coconut-leaflet canoe which quickly transported him to a land called Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vaginas) or Nuku-namutole (Island-smelling-of-vaginas), inhabited only by women. The women paid so much attention to Welei that he soon died, exhausted by their persistent attentions. Hence the saying in Pukapuka when a man

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173 484 has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *vaka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikaiana and San Cristoval. 171

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruvettus* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever. [626 558]

173 177 [484] The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

173 484 The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and Yayake. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

173 Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of talo. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

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173 of going to the land of Te Nuku-o-te-wakatapui, a small islet close to the shores of Yayake, an islet famous for its talo, where all the food complement desired could be easily procured. Yi did not want to go to Yayake, so Te Nana said he would go alone. Yi replied: "Agreed. You go to the windward islands, I will go to the leeward islands." So both canoes took in anchors, and one went one way, the other another way.

The story of Te Nana follows. Te Nana arrived at Te Nuku-o-te-wakatapui. He beached his canoe at a place called Avalau. There was plenty of talo in the talo beds, and the crew settled down to feed on the abundance. Te Nana had a passion for talo cooked as *likoliko*; this was prepared every day, 40 to 50 shells full for each man at each meal. As each man finished his shellful, he threw it behind his back, and soon there was a high mountain of shells growing up on the beach. The crew kept on eating talo while planting to renew the beds. They began at one end, and worked to the other end, and kept on until they had worked through all the talo beds on the islet five times.

About this time the people of Yayake suddenly realized that there were signs of life on the islet which was to them tapu. They looked across the sea and saw flocks of birds rising from the islet day after day. They began to query each other as to the reason for this, and at last decided to go and see what was disturbing the birds.

Te Palo, a Yayake warrior, volunteered to make a reconnaissance. He sailed his canoe to the islet, and coming near the beach, saw a group of people watching him. One man, Te Nana, he saw standing by a *taeyinu* tree. He was burnt black by exposure to sun, and was tremendous in size through his feeding on *likoliko*. Te Palo took him to be a strange monster of a man, and hurriedly sailed back to Yayake to report.

The people of Yayake decided to sail a great fleet of canoes to the islet to kill off the giant strangers. In the vanguard went the canoes of Te Palo, followed closely by the canoes of Yukui, another noted Yayake warrior. Behind sailed the general fleet of Yayake canoes; so many were there that they looked like a huge net flung on the ocean. The plan was for the two warriors to land first, and then while they engaged the strangers, the other canoes were to land their men.

Te Nana watched the canoes coming, and to test them out he decided to throw the challenging coconut midrib (*yiliyili*). He said to Te Vae-matua: "Stand in front, Te Vae-matua. Tie up your hair, gird on your malo. When the canoes are close, hurl at them this *kaleva* bird (midrib), and then we shall see whether the canoes are friendly or not." Te Vae-matua did as he was bid. Twice he hurled the *kaleva*, and twice it was taken and thrown back at him (a sign of hostility). A third time Te Nana ordered him to throw, but Te Vae-matua was frightened of the strange host, and suggested that another might care to have the honor of throwing the *kaleva*. But Te Nana said: "No, you are our mouth, go and throw again." Weeping, Te Vae-matua went forward and hurled the *kaleva* a third time. The two Yayake warriors were now so close to the beach that they jumped ashore and stabbed Te Vae-matua before he could retreat. They cut his legs, arms, and head from his trunk. Te Palo impaled the trunk on a spear, and advanced with it to meet Te Nana.

At the sight of his friend thus killed, Te Nana felt a great fierceness well up through his stomach. As the three came closer, Te Palo called to Yukui: "Don't look behind, don't watch me, watch only the place you plan to strike. It will be above (the head), while my place will be below (the stomach)". Te Nana had ready another *kaleva* which he formally threw at the two warriors. It was returned to him. Then the three men engaged. Yukui ran forward recklessly, with his guard lowered. Te Palo was more careful, realizing from the way Te Nana handled his weapons that he was a skilled warrior. Te Nana watched his chance, and soon cut Yukui to pieces, in the same way that Te Vae-matua had been killed. He impaled the body of Yukui on his spear, and then charged at Te Palo. Coming closer, with a mighty throw, he threw the body at Te Palo.

Te Palo, amazed at the strength displayed, rushed for his canoe, which was awaiting him on the reef. He set sail and hauled off to where the gathered Yayake canoes were awaiting the outcome of the champions' fight. Despite the orders of Te Palo, some of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 his crew had followed him ashore, and these were easily killed by Te Nana and his men. Te Palo waited in his canoe for the outcome of this shore battle, between Te Nana and his own crew. As the battle swayed to the leeward, Te Palo shouted in admiration of the skill of Te Nana: "Kalapa, kanapa, te ayeu lulu o te tawa mai lalo" (Glittering, brilliant, the school of *ayeu* fish of the war party from the west). And as the battle swayed back to the windward part of the beach he called out: "Kanapa, kanapa, te ayeu lulu o te tawa mai ngake" (. . . from the east). Then, realizing that his own men were getting badly beaten, he called to them to stop fighting. They made their way to a canoe, and Te Nana, finding he had won the fight, ceased fighting also. The people of Yayake sailed back to the main island. Te Nana saw however that they would come a second time and that a second time he might not be able to beat them, so he got ready his canoe and soon sailed off for Niue.

Leaving Te Nana, the story of Yi follows. When Yi sailed to the leeward, he finally made a landfall at Tonga-nui or Tonga-wolo. The Tongan people decided to test out the powers of the strangers and to this end arranged a contest to shift a pile of coconut husks from one place to another. Yi chose one of his crew, but his men refused to have any other champion than Yi himself, saying he was a man of power (*mana-mana*) and hence the one best fitted to represent them. Yi agreed. The Tongans chose their champion, a man named Yuliyuli. Both men stood before their piles of husks, and the contest started. Yuliyuli started fast at first, while Yi went slowly. All the people watched the contest while the men ran back and forth. Soon Yuliyuli got short-winded; Yi increased his speed and won the contest. The Tongan people killed and ate the loser, as was their custom.

A new trial was decided on to catch the strangers. This was a food-eating contest, in which the contestants were to be old, grey-headed men only. Yi picked out his warrior, Mayau, the oldest man in his crew. The Tongans chose their champion, and both men sat down before a huge pile of food, pigs and nuts. Mayau thought to outwit the Tongans. When he picked up a piece of food, he made a feint at eating, and then threw the food to some of his men behind him. This was noticed by the Tongans who became angry at the subterfuge, and stopped the contest, saying that Mayau was disgracing their way of playing the contest by giving the tapu food of the old men to commoners to eat.

Then they gave out the word that the strangers had given sufficient offence rightfully to be put to death. All were ordered to collect firewood and cooking stones, that the strangers might be killed, cooked, and eaten on the morrow. Yi and his men heard of the plan. They slept until early daylight. Then Yi roused and armed his men. He got some to prepare his canoe. The old man Mayau he sent to the Tongans. Armed with a huge club, he told the Tongans: "This club will be used to strike down you Tongans, if you stop our going. Yi is a powerful warrior, and I warn you this club will strike you like the head of an eel. Listen not with one ear, but with two ears." The people of Tonga were frightened by this bold threat, and while they were undecided what to do, Yi got his canoe launched, and all his men aboard.

He set sail for Niue, where he met Te Nana coming from Yayake. The two went ashore together, and settled down for a while before going to sea again.

After a long stay in Niue, they decided it was time to begin the voyage back to Pukapuka. They and their crews had been living an idle life on Niue, and when they went to look at their canoes, they found that both were imprisoned by the growth of young coconuts which people of Niue, either by design or through chance, had planted around the canoes. The two men began to tear up the coconut trees, in order to clear the canoes.

Now there was a young woman of Niue named Tauyaningalou, who had become infatuated with Te Nana. Seeing that he was getting his canoe ready for a voyage, she said to Te Nana: "Take me with you back to Pukapuka and make me your wife." Te Nana would not agree. Yi had his canoe in the water, and Te Nana was ready to move his canoe to the sea. Then the girl returned, bringing with her a basket of prepared

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173 talo (*likoliko*), of which she knew Te Nana was excessively fond. She gave the food to Te Nana, pleading, "My sweetheart, take me with you to Pukapuka." But Te Nana replied in horror, "What, you wish me to take you, a woman, in my canoe, and disgrace (*lepu*) it before the eyes of my gods? If I did this, I would never arrive in Pukapuka; the gods would punish me for my horrible sin." [See p. 309.]

The girl was not to be turned aside, however, and to prevent Te Nana from leaving Niue, since he would not take her with him, she roused up the people of Niue, crying that the Pukapukans were stealing away, taking with them many things stolen from the people of Niue, and that Te Nana was also trying to steal her away from her people.

It was now nearly dark. The people of Niue came rushing to the beach, bringing with them weapons and torches of dry coconut leaves. They rushed at Te Nana and at his canoe, which was still on the beach. Te Nana picked up a coconut club, and beat off all the people attacking him. He rushed at them, drove them back, then tried to pull his canoe nearer the water. The Niue men rushed forward again. Some applied torches to the canoe, which, being very dry, blazed up. Te Nana saw his beloved canoe on fire, and in a frenzy of desperation, he threw down his club and tore at the people with his hands and his teeth. Then finding all was useless, he crept into his burning canoe.

The Niue people stood off, and Te Nana was burned to death with his canoe. Yi had all this time been standing off the beach in his own canoe. Those of Te Nana's crew not killed swam to it and were taken aboard. Yi saw the great crowd of Niue people and fearing that if he went to help all would be killed, he decided to save himself and his own canoe. He had, however, left on shore a valuable anchor line, which he wished to get. Thinking it would be madness to beach the canoe, he waited until the Niue men were all engaged with Te Nana, then he slipped into the sea and swam ashore with his club. He stole to where his anchor rope was lying. Some Niue men rushed at him, but he killed them with his club. He picked up the rope, wound it on his arm and started back for the beach, killing all who tried to stop him. He got to the beach safely and swam out to his canoe, which hoisted sail and returned to Pukapuka.

He told the people the story of his own voyage and of the voyage of Te Nana as related to him by Te Nana, and the fate of Te Nana and his canoe.

Yi lived on in Pukapuka to become a member of the older men's age group (*multuka*). When the people of Yato went to Motu Kotawa to catch booby birds, Yi went with them. Being still an active man, he elected to climb a tall *puka* tree. While he was waiting in the tree for the birds, a sudden squall blew up. The rain poured down, making the bark of the trees so slippery that none could climb down safely. The other men saw the squall coming and managed to get down safely. But Yi lost his head, for the spirit of Te Nana had entered into him. He did not climb down quickly, but called out to those on the ground: "I am going to fall. Gather together coconut leaves, pile them under the tree, that I may fall on something soft." The men complied, and cried to Yi to jump. But he was crazed by the spirit of Te Nana, and could not. Again the people cried to him, but he could not jump. A third time they called to him, but there was no reply. They saw him jump clear, but no body fell to earth. And so the people of Pukapuka believe that the spirit of Te Nana consumed Yi's body and soul in order to punish him for having deserted Te Nana when Te Nana was fighting against great odds in Niue. Had he rushed to the help of Te Nana on that occasion, all might have been well, and both might have returned safely to Pukapuka.

The Pukapukans remember a cycle of five stories about Te Palo, the Yayake warrior with whom Te Nana fought, of which one recounts his adventures with Te Nana in Yayake; three, his adventures killing man-eating demons (*kai tangata*), and one, his adventures in coming to Pukapuka.

The last account relates that Te Palo came to Nassau and from Nassau to Pukapuka on a voyage of woman-seeking (*e tele timotimo*). He was greatly impressed with the

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173 amount of talo grown in the reserve of Uta, hence the saying that is remembered to this day: "Te konga nei, koa kaina te tuli ngauta i Yayake" (This place reminds me that the talo beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by *tuli* birds). After a long visit in Pukapuka and several trips back and forth between Wale and Nassau, Te Palo sewed his sail for the return journey to Yayake with the arm bone of Malele, a demon that he had previously killed in Yayake. The goddess Taua was so annoyed at this use of human bone which was tapu on Pukapuka that she infected Te Palo's armpit with a tumor to remind him of this fact on his way home. This visit of Te Palo is chiefly remembered for his adventures with Pukapukan women, the speed of his sailing canoe, and the tapu against the use of human bone.

173 [502] 484 As a general rule voyages made by members of Matanga lineage with their sacred maid in the canoe were safe. (See p. 239.) An exception to this rule is stated by informants to have taken place during the time of the chief Maina. But it must have been later, because it is further stated that about 7 to 10 canoes, containing in all about 100 persons from Matanga, composed the expedition, and there could not have been so many people in Matanga so soon after the devastating seismic wave. The captain of the expedition is not known, but it is remembered that the sacred maid of Matanga, Nokaulava, accompanied the fleet of canoes to give power (*wakamana*) to the sailing.

The fleet sailed from Pukapuka to the southwest and came up to a land called Tonga. Owing to the exhaustion of the crews it was necessary to land. The canoes were beached, but the people of Tonga rushed down upon the exhausted men and killed them all. Nokaulava had been hidden in the hole in the bow cover (*puoyo*) of the chief canoe when trouble threatened. She was found after the fight by the chief of Tonga, a man called Tautonga. He was struck by her beauty, and in order to save her life he hastily thrust her back into her hiding place and announced casually to the people that all the strangers had been well killed. He remained close to the canoe, guarding the girl until nightfall, when he secretly took her from her hiding place, and, carrying her over his shoulder, ran swiftly inland to the top of a mountain peak. Here he found a cave shelter for her and food in the near-by valley. He became enamoured with her beauty, and stayed with her for many moons, the people knowing nothing of her hiding place. The girl reciprocated his love, and soon was pregnant. Later she bore him a son named Moko, who rapidly grew up to be a sturdy lad.

She taught the boy the language and stories of Pukapuka, and all the wisdom of her atoll home that she could recall. Now and then she would ask the boy: "Taku tama e, ka ni o mo mea la langa ake te inu o to taua kainga?" (My child, have you yet the strength to prepare the oven—revenge—for our lineage?). The boy would not reply, but he kept the words close to his stomach. His mother saw this and was satisfied.

As the boy grew up, he trained himself in his solitariness with all kinds of trials of strength, lifting heavy rocks and tree trunks. His father saw this and was pleased. His mother was happy too, because she knew full well that his strength boded ill for her enemies. The boy climbed the highest mountain ridges and again his parents were surprised at the endurance and hardness of his body.

One day his mother took the boy aside, and told him the tragic fate of his people at the hands of the Tongans who lived by the shore. The boy wished to go to the coast to see these people. His mother allowed him to slip away from the mountain at night and he went to the shore, leaping from house ridge to house ridge, so that none would see him walking. Another time he went to the shore by daylight, stole a canoe and a pig, and paddled out onto the lagoon close to the villages. Then holding aloft the pig, he called out, "Look, you people of Tonga, can you do this?", and with his naked hands

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173 tore apart the pig. The people of Tonga were surprised at the young man, and asked, "Whence comes this young man?" Before they could launch a canoe to investigate, he slipped ashore and hid again in the mountains.

Some days later, the young man decided that the time had come for him to remember his mother's remarks and avenge his people. He gathered together many large rocks and boulders on the top of his mountain. Then he went down to the shore villages. He met a man close to one of the villages, wrestled with him, and tore him apart. He went into the villages and fought everyone he saw, tearing each apart with his hands. He did this until the breath came short in his body, and a formidable crowd of Tongans had gathered to fight him. He rushed inland, pursued by the Tongan warriors. He reached the top of his mountain far ahead of his enemies, and as they toiled up the slopes after him, he rolled down on them the boulders already prepared. His mother, excited at the slaughter of her enemies, urged him on to greater slaughter, but his father, appalled at the killing of his people, cried: "Stop, my son, the people of Tonga are now all finished." The boy finally desisted at the entreaties of his father.

Soon after this, his mother, being sick for sight of her native land, went with her son back to Pukapuka, where she told her lineage of the revenge. Her heart was with her husband, however, so after a short stay in Pukapuka both mother and son returned to Tonga and were welcomed back by the chief. They moved to another island, where they settled. The mother's heart was now glad to live in Tonga, for her blood was revenged on the Tongan people.

173 Before Nokaulava returned with her son to Pukapuka, an exploring
161 expedition had set out from Pukapuka to search for the missing people of
484 Matanga. This was a fleet of canoes from Muliwutu, also with about 100 men as crew. With α and β Centauri as their guiding stars, the fleet sailed to the southwest and finally reached Niue. They did not find the missing men of Matanga, but were apparently so well treated in Niue that most of them decided to stay there. A canoe came back from Niue to report the decision; nothing more was ever heard of the emigrants, and it is supposed that they settled down in Niue and intermarried with the people.

173 All the canoe voyages mentioned by informants were made to particular islands, except one which was meant to be an exploring expedition away from Pukapuka but which got no farther than within earshot of the land. This was a voyage projected by Tuliayanga when he was a young man and before he had succeeded to the chiefly title.

The boy was filled with the lust to travel, his imagination excited by returned travelers' accounts of strange lands below the horizon. His father, Maina, feared for his safety at sea, and refused at first to let him go. Tuliayanga insisted, so his father was forced in the end to allow him to fit out a canoe. When the boy set off, Maina prayed to his god requesting that his son be not allowed to see land anywhere but be made to travel only in a circle that would bring him back to Pukapuka. Tuliayanga sailed a first time, but the morning brought him back to Pukapuka. He sailed a second time, but on the fourth morning he was again in sight of Pukapuka. A third time he set off, and after sailing for several days he knew he was near land because he saw birds flying and thought he heard voices. But he saw no land no matter which way he sailed his canoe. After being at sea for several months, he sighted three islands. He came up to them quickly, with joy in his heart, for these were surely the new lands he had hunted these several moons. But when he came close he found it was only the three islands of Pukapuka to which his god had returned him once more. Tuliayanga was so disgusted with the weighting of the gods against him that he gave up deep-sea voyaging forever.

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Another voyage occurring about this time was that of a man named Palakula and members of his family who sailed away from Pukapuka. Palakula had killed the son of the chief Tuliayanga in a brawl provoked by cruelties of the chief's son to Palakula's children. He chose banishment rather than local punishment. Nothing more was heard of Palakula after he left Pukapuka. It is presumed that he and his crew were all drowned at sea.

Two later voyages were voyages of necessity, not choice. They were made in conformity with the Pukapukan custom that all men of supernormal powers should leave the island forever lest their continued presence on the atoll lead to their acquiring abnormal power over the people of the island.

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Tuliayanga had three grandsons, all sons of his daughter, Kaipa. Their names were Nikau, Aliki, and Kieilu. Of Nikau, the oldest, no record is preserved, though it is known that he left Pukapuka. Aliki, the second son, early showed signs of precocious supernormal powers, so under the guise of a competition it was decided to test him. A group of men, all armed with sticks, the ends of which had been dipped in charcoal and water, surrounded Aliki and pretended to attack him. Aliki, also armed with a stick, defended himself against their blows; when the contest stopped, it was found that there was no trace of a black mark on his body. Then it was the turn of Aliki to dip his stick in charcoal. Again the men attacked him; when the contest paused a second time, it was found that each man had a black mark on his body, some on the ear, some on the hand, others on the leg, back or head. This was considered sufficient proof that Aliki had indeed supernormal powers, and he was ordered to leave Pukapuka.

Having fitted out his canoe, he sailed for many days to the west. His crew died of exposure, the sennit lashings of the canoe rotted, and the canoe fell to pieces just when he came in sight of land. He swam ashore and learned afterwards that the name of the island was Niutao (Ellice Islands). He feared the people of the island, so he hid by day and stole food by night. One morning before dawn, when he was hurrying back to his hiding place among the *ngaya* bushes by the shore, he met a young girl. She reported the encounter to her father, who watched for the stranger and after several attempts managed to catch him. The two men became friendly and when a tribal war later broke out on Niutao, Aliki rendered such signal service to the group of his protector that they were victorious. Aliki was adopted by the girl's father, married her, and lived on Niutao as a permanent settler. He taught the people of Niutao to wrestle and throw spears. This is why some believe that after the Pukapukans, the men of Niutao are the most skillful wrestlers and spear throwers in the Pacific.

Kieilu, the third grandson of Tuliayanga, was made cautious by the fate of his two brothers. Some time after they had left Pukapuka, Kieilu was challenged to a log-lifting contest by a man of Ymaunga, named Taluawa. Kieilu planned to be defeated in this contest, even though he could have won it easily. Kieilu lifted his log first, but no higher than his chest. Taluawa, careless of his strength, lifted the log with ease and held it above his head. The people saw this and feared his strength. They ordered him to fit his canoe and sail away to the west to find a new home. Taluawa asked his friend Kieilu to accompany him, but Kieilu replied that he was a land bird and had no liking for the sea. So Taluawa repaired his big double canoe and sailed away.

A few days after leaving Pukapuka, he ran into a heavy gale, with strong seas and winds, sent by the god of waterspouts and whirlwinds, Te Alongaoa, in order to destroy him and his fellow adherents of the god Talitonganuku. The two gods had been fighting each other, and Talitonganuku had sent a shark which destroyed Tautuna, a man of Te Alongaoa who had voyaged abroad. But Talitonganuku and his attendant spirits were on the watch, and when Te Alongaoa sent his agents to overwhelm the canoe of

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173 Talauwa, the spirits caught hold of every cloud descending from the sky and shook it so hard that it fell to pieces. When the whirlwind came, Talitonganuku blew it away. When the rain came in squalls, Talitonganuku covered the canoe with his body and protected it from being filled and swamped. Then Talitonganuku said: "I have protected my men from every weapon of Te Alongaoa." But he had forgotten another weapon of Te Alongaoa, the sharks and fish of the sea, especially swordfish. While Talitonganuku and his spirits were fighting enemies of the air, Te Alongaoa sent his own spirits to gather all the fish and to send them round the canoe. They came to the canoe, and made the waves rough with their thrashing to and fro. The swordfish bored holes in the side of the canoe, and cut the lashing with his sword. Then Talitonganuku rushed to drive off the fish. This left the air unprotected, so Te Alongaoa gathered all the forces of the air for a final onslaught on the canoe. A tremendous storm came from every direction, and the canoe sank ever closer to the water. In spite of Talitonganuku's efforts, the swordfish cut the canoe to pieces, and speared each person on the canoe as he was thrown into the water; all were killed. Te Alongaoa was pleased that he had thus revenged his priest killed by Talitonganuku's shark.

The spirits of the dead returned to Pukapuka and told their living relatives in dreams what had befallen them. Thus is the story known today in Pukapuka. This was the last canoe that sailed from Pukapuka for many generations, because the people were afraid to venture on the ocean while the gods were fighting against each other, destroying all voyagers in their anger.

173 484 For five or six generations after this time, Pukapukan sea voyages were less frequent. Two short voyages to Samoa made after the coming of the missionaries to Pukapuka are worthy of mention:

[558] Yipouli was a Yato man, affiliated with Loto village, who was caught stealing nuts from Motu Kotawa. He was fined 10 nuts by the guard, but was so ashamed of being labeled a thief wherever he went that he gathered together a few friends and refitted his double canoe. One of the two canoes making the vessel was called Te Lava-yaunga, the other Yae-langi. The voyagers set out, sailing by the star Melemele (Antares). They reached Tutuila, and later went on to Upolu where they settled down. Yipouli often wished to return to Pukapuka, but the thought of his shame always prevented him. He died in Samoa.

A little later, in the time of Okotai, second Rarotongan missionary to Pukapuka, about 60 years ago, Okotai's son, Ue, who had lived with his father previously in Samoa, decided he would like to return there. He discussed the matter with Pukapukan young men, stressing the good times that awaited the travelers in Samoa and the surpassing beauty of the Samoan women. Ten young men decided to join Ue in the venture. Saying they wished to go on a fishing trip to the Tima reef, they borrowed a canoe from a Yato man. The name of the canoe was Te Punga-i-Witi, the name also of a large canoe in Yato village today belonging to the son of the owner of the borrowed canoe. The young men prepared the canoe with the minimum of publicity. They went to Motu Kotawa and stole a cargo of nuts. Then they set sail on a course that brought them to Tutuila. The sea on the reef where they made a landfall was not bad, but instead of searching for a reef passage they decided to wreck the canoe, jump into the water, and swim ashore. They were unaware that the sharks of Samoa, unlike those of Pukapukan waters, were man-eating sharks. Of the ten men that left the canoe nine were eaten by sharks. Only one man, Yolomili, brother of the present chief, Nawani, managed to climb on a rock and make his way ashore when the tide went out. He was cared for by a Samoan family and stayed in Samoa till his death, too ashamed to return to Pukapuka. Opinion is that the death of the young men was punishment sent by the old gods, at the request of the owner of the canoe, for the stealing of the nuts and the violation of the tapu of the reserves.

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484 This disastrous voyage to Samoa is probably the last of the deep-sea voyages of the Pukapukans to foreign lands. Occasional fishing trips are still made to Tima reef, but there is no record in recent years of any deep-sea voyage with native canoes.

Summary

A survey of the voyages recorded in the previous pages indicates that the majority were made to lands to the west of Pukapuka. The Tokelau Islands, Tonga, Niue, and Samoa were frequently visited. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that some of the other names mentioned refer to islands to the north of Pukapuka, the Equatorial Islands. The land of Yayake still remains a puzzle, not rendered more easily solvable by the reference to Rarotonga. As this land is identified by some as Tahiti, it may be instructive to discuss the possibility of canoe voyages between Pukapuka and Tahiti. I am indebted to Robert Dean Frisbie for the material on navigation in the following paragraphs:

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487 The island of Raiatea may be used as a destination rather than Tahiti because it is closer to Pukapuka (940 miles) than is Tahiti (1080 miles), and it would be sighted by a canoe sailing direct from Pukapuka to Tahiti. The navigator's course to Raiatea from Pukapuka is 112° east southeast.

A canoe sailing from Pukapuka to Raiatea would require a light wind from northeast by north or farther north. No wind to the east of 32° would be serviceable because a native canoe at sea can not make good more than one point into the wind and if the wind blows at more than force 3 (Beaufort scale), the canoe can not make good a course closer than 90° to the wind. Winds from north of northeast blow in this part of the Pacific only during the hurricane season from November to March. At Pukapuka northerly winds are fairly steady and moderate, but to the eastward, these northerly winds give way to easterly winds. A wind shift to the north is generally followed by a gale from the northwest which a Polynesian canoe could not weather.

It would be practically impossible for a Pukapukan canoe to beat to Tahiti against a head wind. To do this, it could scarcely make more than 20 miles a day on a true course, and for this it would have to sail a little over 100 miles each day. A canoe beating towards Tahiti would be at sea for at least 47 days, changing the course continually as the wind shifted. If, at the end of this time, any island of the Society group was sighted, it would be due to singular luck and not design. No star course would be of value, for the canoe would be changing course continually. Even if a navigator knew by experience that a certain star at rising lies towards Tahiti, it would be imposible for him to shift his courses so that they would average one equal to the true star course.

All this does not discredit the fact that the early Pukapukan navigators could and did make long sea voyages with a fair or even a beam wind, short voyages also with a head wind if the wind was mild and the navigator was clever enough to keep track of his position. That the Pukapukans were well aware of the impossibility of long voyages against a head wind in the hurricane season is shown by the fact that when they sailed to Upolu from Pukapuka they had a fair wind; coming back to Pukapuka, they did not attempt to sail direct (against the wind), but sailed first to the Tokelau Islands,

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173 [For stories about the voyages of Wue and the contact between Pukapuka and Nassau see pp. 73-77, category 116 or 539--analyst].

539 she embarked on it and was quickly taken to the horizon. When
773 she got there, she clung to the horizon as the wave went past,
[821] and easily clambered up to the sky. In the sky she went round inquiring as to her manini. People said the Fair-people must have killed it. Coming to their land in the sky she found traces of blood which she knew to be manini blood. It was this blood that got smeared over the sun and the moon when the manini was killed, and which causes to this day eclipses of the sun and of the moon. Then she came to the Fair-people and found bones of her manini. She met the chief's assistant of the Fair-people, and he admitted that he had received the cheek bone of the manini. So she killed him. Then she went on and found the chief of the Fair-people. He said he had been given the gills and stomach of the fish as was his chiefly share. So she killed him too. And she killed all the people who had eaten of her fish. This finished, her revenge was complete. She went to the horizon and called up another wave to take her back to Pukapuka.

The following chant refers to this story of Lingutaimoa:

Na ai te pu e tangi nei? (4) na te tukipo, te tuki yami,	Whose the trumpet sounding? Of the warning cry, the cry for coconut food,
Yuyu mata tiloia e Lingutaimoa, koa lili vaka, koa ita vaka i tana manini	Wet eye straight gazing of Lingutaimoa, full of anger(she), anger for her manini
Koia yele to kei te tai, to kele, kele, kele, Tiale ti, tiale ta, tiale kaina e te Tea	Noosed, dropped to the sea, dropped struggling Flower picked, flower killed, flower eaten by the Tea people.

[173] The reference to the Fair-people-of-the-sky is the only one in Pukapukan traditions or stories to such people. Informants could give no details about them other than what is known from this story. It is likely, however, that the reference represents a memory in tradition of the fair skinned, chestnut-haired people one of the racial strains that is reported in the population of other islands of Polynesia.

4. The reference is to the Yayake warning cry in the traditional account of the killing of the Yayake people on Motu Ko. [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 380, category 116--analyst].

538 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this
773 god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conus shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They
173 fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecodotes coming within this category serve

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

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TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS

OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiste.

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Ure-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrow-root grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niué,

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and other lands as Manihiki and Penrhyn Island (Tongareva). A number of people under a warrior went to Islands called Maunga-uiui pronounced Maunga-wiwi). The people there were like the Chinese (in colour). The land farthest to the westward which their ancestor visited was called Tekumatanau; the land farthest to the eastward which they visited was called Yiliavari. At that land their ancestors saw some big land monsters which were called *ngolo*. A warrior from Bukabuka went to a land called Vetuna, where these monsters were. The people tried to kill him and his parents; and to show his strength he seized one of these monsters (*ngolo*) and tore it in halves; and the people of that land were then afraid of him.

Their ancient name for Tahiti and the surrounding Islands, and Rarotongo and the surrounding Islands was Yaiake. Rarotonga was a mountain of Yaiake. There were two Arikis there who quarrelled, one was named Turi-yanora, and the other Tuyi-mate. When they quarrelled the land was divided, and Rarotonga was carried to the south; hence the name Rarotonga, that is Tonga to the west, because it was once located further to the east.

In ancient times Nukuroa (*i.e.* Bukabuka) was a much bigger land, and there were many more people than there are now, but there was a deluge, which swallowed up a great part of the land and of the people. The deluge came because of the wickedness of the people, and because of their impiety towards the gods. Some, who called upon their family gods were saved by them, and others who were dead were brought to life by their gods. The daughter of the king in those days stirred up the people to acts of wickedness and impiety. Her name was Anuna.

The people reckon their descent from the mother's side. The tribe which is the most ancient (probably the first settlers) was called Te Ua-ruru, and they are descended from an ancestress called Te Raio. The second tribe (in point of ancient descent) is called Te Mango. The third tribe is called Te Uira, and the fourth tribe Te Kati. There are a number of sub-tribes, but these four are the most important tribes of Bukabuka."

At the close of Ura's narrative in Rarotonga will be found a list of Bukabukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents.

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[TRANSLATION OF NO. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will bt seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

the son of Tamaei, who came from Tonga. His mother was a *vatu*, or stone. He (Matariki) made and arranged the earth and the sea.

After a time, the earth was overwhelmed by the sea. But no one (now) is able to explain this properly, that is, the accounts of the ancients, which is due to the evil and confusion of those times. But this is what they say (of their history): He (Matariki) founded the villages, named Muriutu, Matanga, Angari-pure, Akovika, Amaunga, and Aronga. It was in these places that men grew and increased to great numbers. In those days men did not die. The *ariki* (or high chief of the island) at that time was from Muriutu, and his name was Akau-te-vaka. His period was a happy and peaceful one, no cannibalism existed, nor wars. Hence was the period of Akau-te-vaka a happy one.

Time went on, until the days of Akamora, about whose period is the following history: He was detested by his people, for he was beloved by one of his grandchildren, named Akovika, a girl. He appointed her to succeed him on his death. The duties of this girl were to clean the head of the *ariki*, and pull out his grey hairs. When she had reached womanhood, the *ariki*, Akamora, delegated to her the chieftainship through the love she showed to him. Akamora said to the girl, Akovika, "Thou must take over my chieftainship." Akovika replied, "*E ke*" (which seems to express some doubt; the translation is, "It is different"), and then she went to (? consult) her parent, named Kui, who was a chief of Angari-pure and was a (? learned, or wise) man of Pukapuka.

Kui replied to his daughter, that he would take it (? the chieftainship), which caused all the people of the land to inquire (*riri*, is the Pukapuka word, said to be the same as Rarotongan *ui*, 'to ask'; but in Maori, it is 'anger,' and this seems from what follows, to be the meaning), and they consulted as to the means to kill Kui. All men agreed to this.

Men then went forth over the surface of the land to cut off heads: and the following was the arrangement: a thousand *nikau* (coconut leaves) were to be collected; all the people were to assist. One man was found, who was very able, of great strength, and a warrior, whose name was Veru. He brought one hundred *nikau* leaves at one time. And then they proceeded to make war, by preparing spears and stones.

The *ariki* Akamora had gone to the *marae* with a single *nikau* leaf in his hand to plant it in the earth in order to give authority to the appointment of his grand-daughter to the chieftainship. The men brought all the *nikau* leaves and placed them on Akamora, none fell in any other place, all were put on the *ariki*, so that they reached up to the heavens from the surface of the earth, whilst all his people collected in their proper places in the one *marae*.

Akamora, the *ariki*, had said to his grandchild when the *nikau* were placed on him, that one more should be added, and then, "My home and

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773 my chieftainship are gone." Such were the words of the grandfather to his grandchild. When the time came for Kui to confirm the investiture 539 of the chieftainship, all the (people of the) land made their offerings, 173 each man with his weapon or spear. They all did the same. Then Kui did lance his spear, and stepped across the *marae* to the seaward side and there placed his weapon in the sea. The *marae* was thus pierced (? made sacred) and the *nikau* stabbed with his spear. The heavens were obscured by the *nikau*, at which all men were alarmed, for not a single weapon (or wood) remained on Akamora. He now went forth; for his authority had departed from him to his grandchild.

After all this, the daughter (of Kui) held the chieftainship, and the people said to Kui, "Go you to Samoa!" to which Kui assented, saying, "I will go!"

Kui now prepared his canoe for sea, and took on board his two children, named Tapeau-tane and Tapeau-vaine, and sailed away over the ocean. When they reached afar off, there was no food left on board on account of the length of their voyage, whilst the canoe filled with water. The parent sought some means by which to save his children, and made the outrigger of the canoe into bundles and fastened them on to the shoulders of his children. In consequence of the long time in the water and the want of food, Tapeau-vaine died. The parent rubbed noses with her and then cast her body away. The parent and Tapeau-tane still went on for many days, when starvation caused the death of the latter. The parent saluted the son and then cast his body off.

So Kui went on, whilst his body became covered with *tio* (someone has pencilled on the original, 'timber-worm.' *Tio*, in Maori, is an oyster—probably means here a barnacle) and then he fell to the bottom of the sea, and thus proceeded to the reef at Samoa.

When he reached Samoa, he went ashore and proceeded to steal from the rat-ovens of the Samoans, and then returned to the shore and remained there. The Samoans then proceeded to search for the thief who had stolen food from their rat-ovens. After a time a young girl went down to the sea-shore, where she found an object there; she turned it over, when the breath came out of its belly, at which she was frightened, and returned to tell the people of the land to come and see the object. All the people came down, when they seized the object, took it up and cooked it in an oven, thus died Kui. But his spirit survived, and it then made war on Samoa, killing a lot of people. After this the spirit of Kui returned and reported to all his family at Pukapuka what had happened at Samoa, and that its body had been cooked in an oven.

That is all of that story.